7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Published by the University of New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe in the interest of general Anthropology

VOLUME 4

1948

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
ALBUQUERQUE

[Title Page]

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

A NOTE ON DOMINICAN BASKETRY AND ITS ANALOGUES*

DOUGLAS TAYLOR AND HARVEY C. MOORE

TYPES AND TECHNIQUES

(By Douglas Taylor)

285 BASKETRY of the Island Carib is relatively little known, and descriptions of the materials and technical details are almost wholly unrecorded. The following notes are offered to remedy this situation.

284 *Ischnosiphon arouma*, the lárumą of the Dominica Carib (< Island Carib
285 -nalamą), is today found growing wild in the rain-forests of the island's interior, although, for greater convenience, basket-makers sometimes plant it nearer home. This little palm here attains maturity in about a year at a height of 12 to 15 feet. After flowering, the leafy crowns gradually bend and bear the slender stems to earth, send forth roots, and so propagate the parent stock. The Carib recognize a secondary variety known as lárumą tukusiç which, they say, does not exceed five feet in height. Because it provides such short strands, it can be utilized only for making small ornamental baskets, for which work it is, moreover, especially suited by reason of the facility with which it can be split.

When they have attained their maximum growth, the stems are cut; split into two or four segments and most of the soft pith removed; then tied in bundles of from 70 to 100 stems and carried down to the coast, where they are spread out in the sun to dry.[1] When they have acquired by this process the reddish brown color characteristic of the island's basketry, they are tied back into bundles, ready, for the most part, to be stored until required on the cross-beams or suspended from the ridge-pole of the basket-makers hut or mwing. When black strands are wanted for decorative purposes, a smaller bundle of sun-

* Because of difficulties of communication, Mr Taylor has had no opportunity to read proof of this article—Editor.

171 1. Apparently this procedure is entirely foreign to Guiana, where only freshly cut stems are used, either green or—after scraping off the outer skin-like bark—stained with various coloring matter. Both Ireland says that exposure to the sun would render the lárumą brittle and useless. On the other hand, the Dominica Carib claim that strands made from green stems would soon spoil, and that work done with such would "open," that is, show gaps owing to subsequent shrinkage. There appears to be a degree of reason on both sides: strands woven while green tending to shrink or go mouldy; while sun-dried stems give strands which are of course more apt to break off when much bent. Perhaps this is one reason why "bone-glass pattern" technique is unknown, and why the making of counter-squares (sakuma, or mamą) is almost a lost art.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

dried stems is buried in a mud hole by the river, and left there to steep for a few 285
days until the lárumq turns a rich lustrous black. Stems so treated lose, however, in strength.

Preparatory to being woven, each stem segment is re-split with the thumb nail into two or three strands (according to the size of the original stems and the nature of the work in hand); and the remaining pith removed by passing each of these under the blade of a knife held perpendicularly between thumb and index finger. Finally, each strand is separated in the sense of its thickness into a skin or outer layer, which is finer and more flexible, and a mam (<French membre "member," "frame-timber") or inner layer, which is coarser and less supple. This operation requires skill: it is accomplished by breaking a complete strand near its butt; then seizing the exposed end of the mam between the teeth and peeling off the skin with a steady pull of the right hand, while the left controls the unseparated part. The "tooth-hold" must of course be shifted from place to place until the strand has been peeled throughout its entire length into two layers.

Although the Dominica Carib make several other types, the Creole term panier caraïbe (Island Carib bakara, or yamąti) is applied only to those close-work, rectangular baskets of lárumq, consisting of a container and a cover, each of which is composed of a skin in ornate pattern and two or three colors built up over a white (and usually plain) frame basket or mam. Overlapping leaves of cachibou *(Calathea)* or of balisié *(Heliconia)* are adjusted onto the latter in such a way as to form a continuous layer between it and the skin, and thus to render the finished product more or less waterproof. Varieties of such baskets, distinguished according to their shape and size, are known locally as: panier voyage (Roth's pegall), portemanteau and valise (Roth's larger and smaller satchels), and niche (literally "nest": a series of twelve small ornate oblong baskets, one fitting into another after the manner of a Chinese puzzle). Although there are still one or two Carib who know how to weave in twill (see below), all of the above are usually woven today in wicker pattern: the weft strands passes alternatively over and under one warp element, which consists of one strutter, or two or more ordinary strands superimposed so as to be relatively rigid.

The first component of a panier caraïbe to be made, and the most difficult of construction, is the mam of the container. As its name implies, this is made of the inner layer strands of lárumq. A beginning is made on the flat base by squatting on the floor and holding down a series of warp elements in position with the feet until they can be secured by passing the wefts.

Once this foundation has been completed to the desired size and shape, warp

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

285 and weft strands are "fulled" by pressing them neatly close together, and the incipient basket is ready to be "turned." The projecting strands serve as warps for the sides of the basket which are built up by multiple additional wefts. On the foundation's longer sides, where the original warp elements project, this presents no difficulty; but the original wefts projecting from the shorter sides must be thinned out before they can serve as warps. This is done by cutting short the first of every three weft strands (sometimes the first two of every four are

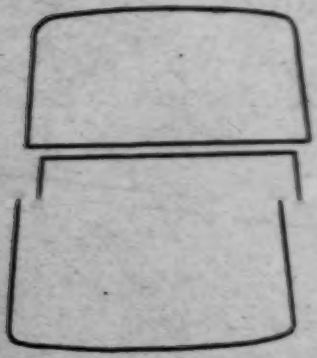

FIG. 1. Elevation of basket cover and container (one-tenth natural size).

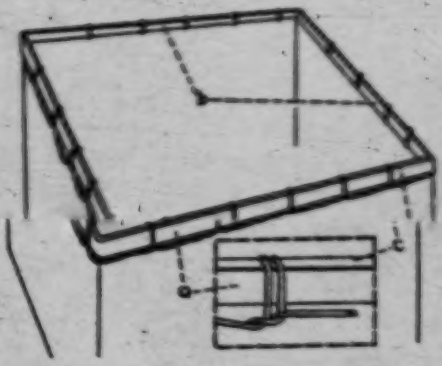

FIG. 2. Showing rosette (a and b) and herring (c) edgings; with inset showing manner in which they are sewn onto the basket mouth.

cut) and tucking their ends under the others. The remaining two strands of each are henceforth treated as a single warp element. Before proceeding with the sides, the warps projecting in the proximity of the four corners (which the basket-maker still calls by their Carib name: ariete) are "broken," that is, folded or bent at right angles so as to indicate the points at which the additional wefts must be turned and tightened. The mats is turned so as to leave the strands' shiny side inwards. The reverse is of course true in the case of the skin.

As each additional weft (which may make two or more circumferences of the basket) is introduced, the end of the previous one is tucked neatly under. Moreover, in order that the basket's cover may fit tightly, the sides of the container are made to slope inwards so that when finished its mouth is somewhat smaller than its base—the reverse being true of the cover (see Figure 1). This necessitates very nice adjustment in tightening each successive weft if a lopsided effect is to be avoided. To keep the strands well pressed down and prevent their

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

slipping up, they may be moistened from time to time; and strips of maho (a285
name given to the fibrous bark of several widely different species of trees) are
introduced across the corners whenever the work is temporarily laid aside.

The mam of the basket's cover is made in the same way, except that its foundation, before being "turned" is tied over the mouth of the container, and the weft strands of its sides built up and tightened around the latter in order to insure a perfect fit.

The Carib basket-maker usually finishes a number of mams (both containers and covers to fit) before starting on their skins. When he is ready to complete a basket, he selects some suitable leaves (see above), removes their midribs, and puts them in the sun to wilt and dry somewhat (without which they would rot in the basket and be worse than useless). Then he adjusts leaf-stem props both diagonally and criss-cross within the mam in order that its sides may remain rigid while the sides of the skin are being built up around it. Layers of wilted leaf are now laid [illegible] over the outside of the mam, up over and over the edge of its mouth, and secured in place by strips of maho which pass around and across the mam in such a way as to admit of ultimate removal. The foundation of the skin (see below) is now tied firmly onto that of its leaf-covered mam, and its sides built up by the introduction of additional wefts which are tightened around the latter. Vertical "posts" consisting of stem segments of roseau *(Gynerium saccharoides)* are woven into the four corners of the container's skin if a panier voyage is being made.

When the mam has been completely enveloped in its skin, the maho bonds are withdrawn, and the basket is ready to be bordé, i. e. given an edging. Two stem-segments of roseau and one of the unseparated lérumq are cut to the length of the basket mouth's circumference for this purpose. According to the size of the basket, the former vary from ½ to 1 cm, the latter from ¼ to ½ cm in breadth. The projecting warp ends of mam and skin alike (they are sometimes, but rarely today, tucked in upon themselves after the manner described by Roth), together with any projecting leaf, are now "shaved" (with a sharp knife or razor blade) even and parallel around the circumference of the mouth. Then the roseau edgings are applied, one around the outside of the skin, the other inside the mam, with the lérumq segment bridging the two in guise of a lid. This edging is now sewn together and onto the basket by a series of reef-knots which pass around its three components and through the border of skin and mam (Figure 285
2). The thread used for this purpose is made from the leaf-fiber of la pite (a283
wild pineapple), not spun on the leg into twine, as for fishing-line, but passed under the big toe and twisted in single ply. Moreover, this thread is blackened

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

285 before use with an unidentified resin (found on the windward beaches during the
283 first three months of the year) called manni, which strengthens and preserves it from decay.

285 The láruma skins are woven and built up on the same general principles as
531 their manna, except that the reddish brown strands of the former are varied by others of white (obtained by scraping before use) or black (see above), which

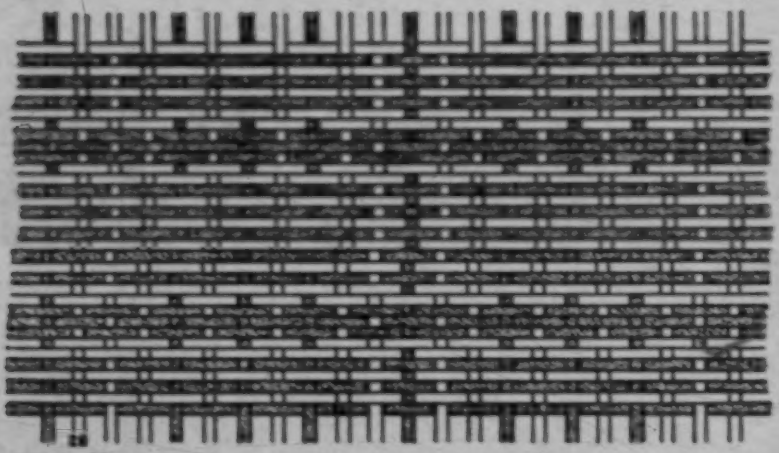

FIG. 3. Checker design (called bariolé) in wicker pattern basketry.

are so arranged as to form a design. This does not necessarily cover the whole basket, but is limited more often to two or more bands running across the top and bottom and around the sides of the basket. Such design vary somewhat with the basket-maker's fancy, but there appears to be at least a basis of tradition behind them. One of the more orthodox, in which the wefts go alternatively over and under each warp element in such a way that the black wefts pass over most of the white warps and under the black, is shown in Figures 3 and 4. The former represents the more usual, rather widely spaced arrangement, while the latter illustrates how the same design shows up in fine work. Its formula is (w equals white; b equals black); warps: 3w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 2w, 1b, 2w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 1b (repeat, and end off with 3w); wefts: 2w, 3b, 2w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 1b, 1w, 1b (repeat). This design is known as bariolé "variagated"; and the white warp which divides it symetrically (twentieth from the right) as the portugais, "Portuguese" (?). Recently, yellow and violet stained la pite fiber thread (see

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

above) has been woven in this design into belts 4 cm wide, with the portugais 285
running right down the middle, but this may be a new application of an old 531
pattern.

While Roth's "hour-glass pattern" technique is quite unknown to Dominica 285
Carib of today, at least a twill weave not unlike that described and illustrated 531
by him for Guiana in section 432 of the *Additional Studies* is employed here by 171
a very few Carib in decorative baskets otherwise similar to those whose manu-

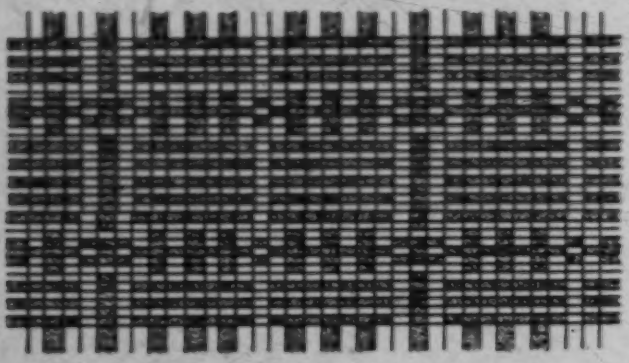

FIG. 4. Checker design in fine work.

facture has just been described. But whereas the twill of Roth's specimen is of the one-under-and-over-three type usual in Guiana basketry, all those I have seen in Dominica are based on the one-under-and-over-two pattern commonly employed here in making fans and hebilet (cassava-sifters). Moreover, both mams and skins of the Dominica specimens are twilled (although the former are in plain herringbone), whereas in Guiana, according to Roth, the mams are usually in wicker weft. In such baskets, warp and weft are indistinguishable except in being usually of different colors (see Figure 3). If the warp is taken to be white and the weft black, then successive wefts starting at the same warp pass as follows (brackets indicate introductory point of weft and are not to be repeated); u equals under, o equals over: A-ul, o2, u2, o2, (repeat); B-(u2), o2, u2, o3, u2, o2, u3 (repeat); C- o1, u2, o2, u2 (repeat); D-(o2), u2, o2, u3, o2, u2, o3 (repeat). The next four wefts repeat this arrangement (ABCD), then follow two sets of four wefts each in the order ADCB. The entire formula may thus be represented by ABCD, ABCD, ADCB, where A, B, C, and D follow the picks indicated above.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13
Dominica ST4

Whether by design or, as I incline to believe, because the requisite number of warps strands had been miscalculated, the above pattern is changed on the short sides of one basket in my possession, the weft strands on reaching the corners passing: A-u1, o2, u2, o2, u3, o2, u2, o2 (repeat); B-(u2), o2, u2, o2, u1, o2, u2, o2, u3 (repeat); C-o1, u2, o2, u2, o3, u2, o2, u2 (repeat); D-(o2), u2,

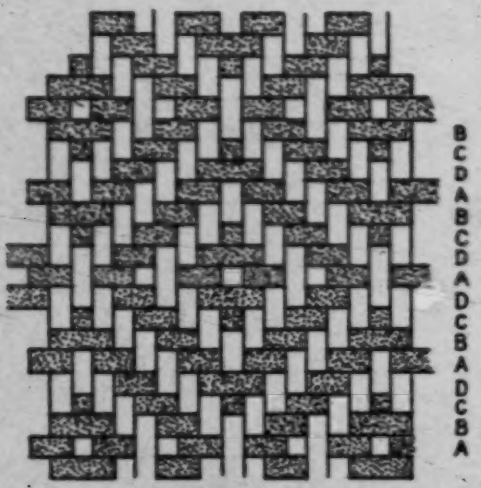

FIG. 5. Design of the Dominican mats.

o2, u2, o1, u2, o2, u2, o3 (repeat). This pattern repeats after only 14 (instead of the former's 16) strands have been passed in the order: ABCD, ABCD, ADCB, AB.

White strands for decorative baskets may be obtained, as has been mentioned already, by scraping off the reddish brown surface of sun-dried lárumą skins. Although less resistant, the peeled, bleached, and sun-dried midribs of the roseau leaf and the dried split leaf-stems of the cachibou are sometimes preferred for this purpose, since they are of a purer white and more brilliant than the former. The fans referred to in an earlier paper,[2] and now made, not by the Carib, but by the members of a colored community living on the fringe of the rain forest near the center of the island, are of especial interest because their shape and method of construction are intermediate between those of the Arawak and Carib types described by Roth for Guiana, and such as might well have evolved

2 See Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, p. 131.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago
Dominica ST4

in the islands where these two cultures intermingled. This little community 285
practices no other form of basketry; and it seems probable that the making of these fans was first introduced by some Carib who married and settled among them.

Except for a band consisting of two black and two violet (or otherwise 285
colored) strands running diagonally from lower right through the center to the 531
top left-hand corner of the fan, only white lárumą (or roseau) strands are employed. They are woven in a one-under-and-two-over pattern of herring-bone twill forming concentric squares.

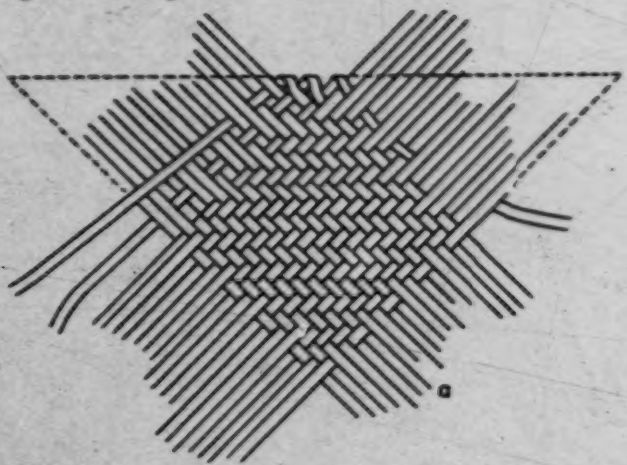

FIG. 6. Start of fan made in colored community in Dominica.

A start is made by weaving together in this manner two sets of from 18 to 295
24 strands each. These should be adjusted so that their butt ends all project on the lower sides of the diamond so formed, and are about double the length of the head ends projecting from the upper sides of this foundation, *a* (see Figure 6).

Next, starting at the figure's apex and working outwards, each set of upper projecting strands is bent—one set inward and down, the other outward and down—and woven back into itself so as to build up two wings, *b*, shown in Figure 7. The last strand on either side *(s)* is left unbent until completion of the fan, when it is tightened, doubled back on itself, and cut short. The original diamond has now become an inverted triangle whose base will form the upper edge and whose apex will be the center point of the finished fan.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago
Dominica ST4

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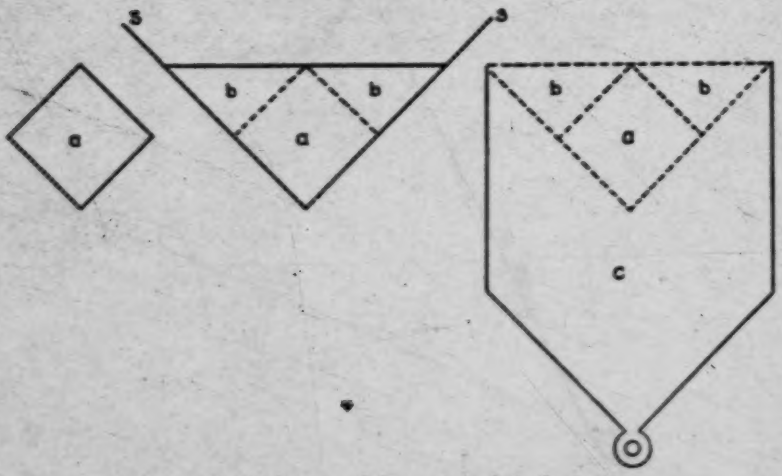

FIG. 7. Lay-out of the sections of the fan.

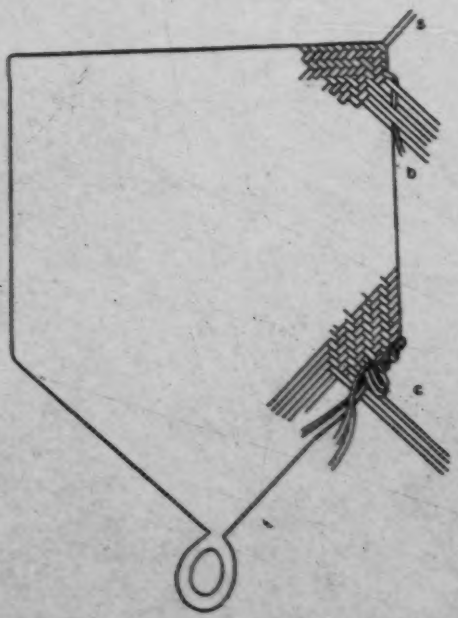

FIG. 8. Edging of the fan.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13
Dominica ST4

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Starting again with that which is uppermost, or last bent, each strand is now rebent inward and downward, and woven back into the fan along a course parallel to and on the same path as that which it followed in the original diamond. This process, which produces an edging at right angles to that just completed, as well as filling in the body of the fan, is continued on either side until the desired length is obtained (see Figure 8, *b*).

When this stage is reached, a last strand is bent over but not interwoven with the others. Over and round this underlying strand as foundation, the next two strands taken together and superimposed, are wrapped, brought up on the top side of their own standing part, and bent under the others parallel with the foundation strand (see Figure 8, *c*). These two strands, together with the foundation strand, now form a composite foundation over which the next two strands are wrapped superimposed, and which they themselves then join. Each successive pair of strands thus encircles the bundle formed by its predecessors, and then itself joins the bundle, which thus comes to contain all the strands on its side of the fan, and to form an apex with those from the other side. The two bundles are finally trimmed, joined together, and overcast so as to form a ring.

COMPARATIVE NOTES ON THE BASKET TYPES

(By Harvey C. Moore)

C 285 171

The similarities suggested above between the basketry of the Dominican Carib and that described by Roth for the Guiana Indians causes one to conjecture on other areas possessing similar basketry. Wissler[3] long ago commented upon the similarities of design and materials of cane baskets in Louisiana and northern South America. Commenting upon baskets in some Pacific Islands that had similar designs, he warned about assuming diffusion from designs only. However, there was in addition to similarity of design the factor that cane splints were used for mats and baskets in the southeastern United States, the West Indies, and the basins of the Amazon and Orinoco.[4] Gower warns that since the technique involved in cane-splint basketry was rather simple, its presence need not mean diffusion from only one center of invention.[5] However, it was present in the Muskhogean area, among the Yuchi of Georgia and South Carolina, in Florida, among Taino and Island Carib of the West Indies, and in northeastern South America.[6]

3 Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 78.
4 *Idem*, p. 51.
5 Gower, *Northern and Southern Affiliations*, p. 17.
6 *Idem*, p. 49.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

285 171 Speck[7] states the uniformity of type, weave, and design of cane basketry in the southern and eastern United States point to its being a single art, with a center for North America in the lower Mississippi region. He goes on to mention possible Antillean or South American connections. A striking feature of similarity is the complex "double weave," although no waterproofing by the insertion of a leaf-layer such as *Ischnosiphon* has been reported for the Southeast.

That a cultural extension of cane basketry into southern Central America existed will be demonstrated later in this paper.

A brief exposition of specific points of similarity and dissimilarity between the Southeast, Antilles, and northeastern South America will now be given.

In the Southeast, the Yuchi[8] has two types of basketry, one like the Algonkian tribes and one using cane. The latter type was characteristic of the Southeast and Gulf area. The material was cane *(Arundinaria)*, nearly always twilled, and with bottom and sides possessing differing patterns.[9] Swanton[10] says that among the Chitimacha, on the Mississippi in Louisiana, the cane was split with the teeth and woven in two layers, forming a double basket—sometimes dyed black, yellow, or red. The Chitimacha[11] (at least in their basketry as revived in historic times) wove in two thicknesses with the glossy surface out and used the twilled pattern. All the baskets had a cover fitting closely over the lower part. Merwin was reminded by it of the material, weave, and uses of the basketry of the Guiana Indians.

The Hitchiti of the Lower Creeks split and stripped cane, soaked it in warm water before using, and dyed strips in advance.[12]

The Cherokee[13] of western North Carolina used the "double weave" of two splints of cane in a diagonal twill with the smooth outer surfaces exposed on the inside and outside of the basket. The Cherokee designs occurred among other tribes of the southern or Gulf area, but the designs of the latter had more elaboration.[14] Adair[15] mentions the Cherokee's dividing the swamp canes into long, thin, narrow splinters, dyed several colors. Among the types was a nest

7 Speck, *Decorative Art*, p. 65.
8 Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi*, p. 31.
9 *Idem*, p. 32.
10 Swanton, *Indian Tribes of Lower Mississippi*, p. 348.
11 Merwin, *Basketry of the Chitimacha*, p. 34.
12 Swanton, *Indians of Southeastern United States*, p. 605.
13 Speck, *Decorative Art*, p. 59.
14 *Idem*, p. 62.
15 Williams, *Adair's History*, p. 456.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

of eight or ten baskets. Wissler[16] lists baskets of cane and splints as among the distinctive traits of the Southeast, with the double or nested basket and the basket meal sieve as special forms.

The Seminole of Florida, although not significant basket makers, used the swamp cane and the fan palmetto for making flat baskets and sieves.[17] The Pile Dwellers of the Florida Keys left remains of wattled cane matting and Cushing[18] deduces the people understood basketry making.

Hence it appears that cane was used in similar manner throughout the Southeast for baskets (and also for mats and cradles).[19] Almost everywhere the work was by women.[20]

Turning to South American basketry, we find that the Macusi[21] (Central Carib) used palm frond splints for baskets to store farina. These were lined with leaves, and covered with leaves and splints interlaced. The men made maranta plant splints (scraped and used naturally, bleached, or stained black) into shoulder or trinket baskets with telescoping lids. The Waiwai (Central Carib) made the best ones. The Wapisiana[22] (Central Arawak) used *iturite* palm leaves to line the bottom and sides of baskets holding farina and cotton. The men's shoulder, or trinket, box was the same shape as the slightly larger lid which slipped over it.[23] Scraped strips of maranta plant were bleached or stained black.

Modern Caingang[24] (non-Guarani of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul) make some twilled baskets, like those of the Guayaná, that are of thin strips of split bamboo and are made in two parts that telescope into each other.

Among the northwest Amazons were plaited cane *(Cecropia peltata)* baskets, sometimes with black cane interwoven into the white.[25] The Boro and most of the other tribes north and south used a cylindrical cassava squeezer with loops at each end. The strips, which look like cane but are apparently of a species of *Desmoncus*, were twilled. Most of the manufacture was by women.

16 Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 238.
17 MacCauley, *Seminole Indians of Florida*, p. 517.
18 Cushing, *Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers' Remains*, p. 63.
19 Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast*, p. 690.
20 *Idem*, p. 700.
21 Farabee, *The Central Caribs*, p. 23.
22 Farabee, *The Central Arawaks*, p. 23.
23 *Idem*, p. 24.
24 Métraux, *The Caingang*, p. 457.
25 Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, pp. 97-98.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

285 Nordenskiöld[26] noted baskets of leaves of *Gynerium* among the Yamiaca,
171 Tambopata-Guarayo (Chāma), Atsahuaca, Cavina, Chacobo, Yuracáre, Guarayú (Pauserna and Guarayo), Chimane, and probably among the Mojo. Theirs is the technique of the Piro (referred to later). Square baskets with overlapping lids are known among the Yuracáre, Chimane, Guarayú (Pauserna and Guarayo), Mojo, Chacobo, and Atsahuaca—all located in an area roughly between 60°-70° W longitude and 10°-20° S latitude.[27]

Baskets with overlapping lids showed a general scattering all over South America between the Equator and Curaçao, also between 12°S and about 23°S and 60°-70° W. Both Arawak and Carib of the Guiana Coast evidenced this type.[28] Quite possibly allied in form is basketry found in Peruvian graves.[29]

The Macheyenga[30] (Arawak who lived along the middle course of the Urubamba River in eastern Peru) made good telescope baskets of wild cane for storage of trinkets, clothing, etc., and the Piro[31] (Arawak to the east of the Macheyenga) made the small telescope basket, also common among the Campa, and used them similarly.

Among the tribes of eastern Bolivia and western Matto Grosso, the ancestors of the Mojo (Arawak), like the Guiana Indians, made round telescope baskets and also made flat, circular trays and carrying baskets with hexagonal weave (lattice type).[32]

With reference to extensions of basketry of this general type into Central America, Skinner[33] notes a specimen among the Bribri of Costa Rica of a basket of split palm leaves or of cane, in diagonal twill, and like some of the baskets of the Alibamu, Choctaw, and other Gulf Indians. These rare baskets were used for holding trinkets.

Among the Guiana Indians Im Thurn found many similarities to Antillean basketry. He states[34] that the men were basket makers and the material used for all fine work was the split stems of *Ischnosiphon*, called iturite, other species

26 Nordenskiöld, *Ethnography of South-America*, pp. 198-203.
27 *Idem*, p. 204.
28 Nordenskiöld, *Changes in the Material Culture*, pp. 172-174.
29 As an illustration, the Uhle collections from Chincha contain "rectangular twilled work baskets, with lid, used to hold spindles, yarn," etc., found in graves of three time periods: Late Chincha I, Late Chincha II, and Inca (and at the period of the Spanish conquest). See Kroeber and Strong, *The Uhle Collections from Chincha*, p. 31.
30 Farabee, *Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru*, p. 6.
31 *Idem*, p. 56.
32 Métraux, *Native Tribes*, p. 67.
33 Skinner, *Notes on the Bribri of Costa Rica*, p. 63.
34 Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 278-279.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

285
171

of iturite being used for the rougher work. The Arawak, Ackawoi, and Warrau made square pegalls, with lid and baskets of the same shape and overlapping. (The nests of baskets were made as curiosities for Europeans.) Many true Caribs made pegalls of oblong shape. (The Indians of the savannah made round pocket-shaped baskets without lids which they covered with leaves when necessary.) Sometimes basket and lid were made double and leaves *(Ischnosiphon)* were inserted between the layers.

Most baskets were made in the same way and of iturite, split into strips, sometimes peeled, bleached, natural, or stained black.[35] The quakes were loosely woven and lined with iturite leaves. The sides were composed of intermixed leaves and farina or salt.[36] A covering of leaves was added after the basket was full.

The Nikari-karu, a hybrid group on the Brazilian-Guiana border, made their pegalls of the leaves of a palm *(Orbigiguia)*. This was rare in British Guiana, but the shape of the pegalls was square or oblong, like the pegalls of the Arawak.[37]

The basketry of the other islands of the Antilles offer similarities to that of Dominica. The aborigines of Porto Rico[38] used "plaiting" interwoven with leaves to become watertight. Fewkes noted that basketware made in the penitentiary at San Juan during the time of his observation resembled that of the Carib of St Vincent and Dominica. The hammock[39] of the prehistoric Porto Rican "closely resembled some of those still used by the tribes of the Orinoco and manufactured by Indians elsewhere in South and Central America."

Summary

Any conclusions on types of weaves and patterns of baskets must consider first the practical level of materials involved and mechanical limitations of the craft. Generalizations proceeding from any one factor, as type of material used or design, may lead to hasty and unwarranted conclusions. Basketry must be evaluated as a complex encompassing such things as material used, type of weave, ornamentation, quality of work, uses to which the baskets are put, sex dichotomy in basket making, and preparation of materials. When several of the elements of this complex are present, and the time periods permit, we can assume the similarities manifested in various geographically unconnected areas stem from diffusion and are not parrallel outgrowths from comparable mechanical conditions. The available information on the basketry-making areas included in

35 *Idem*, p. 281.
36 *Idem*, pp. 281-282.
37 *Idem*, p. 282.
38 Fewkes, *Aborigines of Porto Rico*, p. 212.
39 *Idem*, p. 34.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
ST13 Callinago ST13

this discussion is often mainly that of a description of the baskets themselves. Too hasty an inference that similar design types are related should be avoided. However, the evidence herein assembled tends to support the view that the Antilles, northeastern South America, and southeastern United States form an area having pronounced similarities in basketry. In the Southeast the area extends from North Carolina to Florida (with probable extensions into the Keys) and west to Louisiana. Specific reference has been made to the Antillean islands of Dominica, Porto Rico, San Juan, and St Vincent. Known similarities in culture among other islands of the Antilles suggests a wider distribution there. In South America there are indications of discontinuous distribution extending far beyond the Guiana area. There are southwestward extensions at least to the Macheyenga (approximately 74°W and 12°S) and the Atsahuaca and Yamiaca (approximately 70°W and 15°S). There is another extension at least to the Guarayú (approximately 64°W and 17°S). A northwestward extension goes as far as the Bribri of Costa Rica. Suggestive similarities are found among the modern Caingang (along the Atlantic coast between approximately 20°-33°S).

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